VANGUARD



INTERNATIONAL LABOR SOLIDARITY—REFUSAL TO SHIP ALL WAR MATERIALS TO FASCISTS CAN STOP WAR

VANGUARD

A LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST JOURNAL

Published by the Vanguard Group, 45 West 17th Street, New York City. Telephone: CHelsea 3-9567. Subscription in United States one dollar (\$1.00) for twelve issues. Foreign \$1.25. Single copies ten cents.

Vol. 4, Nos. 5 & 6

November, 1938

THE EUROPEAN CRISIS

THE most dismaying aspect of the debacle now taking place in Europe is the utter confusion, disorientation, and bewilderment characterizing the attitude of the proletarian organizations of the democratic countries. In face of the great danger looming ahead of them as a result of the treachery of the ruling cliques of England and France, the great masses of those countries remain strangely inactive, hardly aware of the ominous plots busily concocted in the Chancelleries of Europe with the view of removing the last obstacles to the triumphant sweep of fascism in the rest of Europe.

That the Chamberlain-Daladier foreign policies are actuated by such plots is now being revealed not only by the circumstances attending the Munich sell-out but even more so by the trend of events following this turning point in European diplomacy. The intensified drive against the social conquests of French labor, the eagerness with which semi-dictatorial powers are sought by the Daladier government, the increased pressure exerted by the British government upon the press and other agencies of free expression-and filling Mr. Churchill with sad forebodings of even greater repressions to come-all these developments fit in rather ominously with the basic outlines of the plot clearly revealed by the action of the "democratic" representatives during the Czechoslovakian crisis. And they point the direction which the Chamberlain policies are bound to follow with cumulative speed, given the same passive attitude on the part of labor which already permitted the pro-fascist cliques of England and France to consummate one of their master strokes in the subtle strategy of their anti-labor and anti- democratic campaign.

It is a campaign carried on along the same lines and having the same objectives as the campaign of the camarilla of the Italian court or the Von Papen-Hindenburg entourage, waged in order to hamstring the labor organizations, drive them into a blind alley and render them helpless in face of an advancing counter-revolution. The difference is that the Chamberlain-Bonnet governments have to build their strategy upon the basis of international relations.

There is no fascist movement in France and England which has sufficient strength to challenge the abor organizations and the democratic forces of those countries. That is why the policy of the pro-fascist cliques governing those countries consists in increasing the fascist pressure from without, even if that means a serious blow to their own national interests. This pressure, combined with persistent attempts to foster

a fascist movement of their own, should be strong enough to bring those countries within the pale of the general reaction now swallowing up one country after another.

In Central and Southeastern Europe this pressure was strong enough to dictate the fascisation of domestic and foreign policies. In France this pressure is actually sought by the Chamberlain government in order to place this country in a position of vassalage and dependence upon the British government, which will enable the latter to exercize the supreme powers of control of the French domestic policies. And there can be no doubt as to the basic character and direction of this planned control.

It will be directed mainly toward breaking the power of the Popular Front and gradually forcing upon France a government of the type which prevailed prior to the popular upsurge of 1935-1936. And acting true to this type, following in the footsteps of the Flandin-Laval-Doumergue governments, this coming government will devote its major energies to the consummation of a plot against the existence of the Republic. It will either provoke the workers to some uprising by a persistent course of aggressions or it will lay the ground for a rebellion along the lines engineered by the Spanish Generals. In both cases the workers and the democratic masses of France will find themselves facing a situation which, considered in its international aspect, will prove to be even more ominous than the one with which the Spanish workers had to grapple.

Only several months ago this contingency, already adumbrated by the results of the "non-intervention" policy in Spain, was still considered a remote possibility. The readiness of the ruling classes of France and England to endanger their own national interest for the sake of delivering a knock-out blow to labor was still considered in the light of a mere theoretical possibility, although the Spanish events furnished quite convincing proofs as to the possible course the bourgeoisie might take when faced with such a choice.

Now, however, the danger has been brought so near that to close one's eyes to its imminence spells in itself a highly pathological state of heedlessness. "Chamberlain is a fascist," declared Thomas Mann in one of his recent interviews, and surely the great labor organizations of England and France that live under the shadow of his ominous policies should be able to realize it as well as the great German exile.

Do they realize it? Do they realize the sinister implication of the policies pursued so cynically by Chamberlain and his French agent Bonnet? It is when we ask ourselves this question that we see how fatally near the policies of the British and French labor organizations come to those pursued by German labor. There is no more inkling on the part of the British organizations as to the plot engineered by Chamberlain than what German labor evinced toward Hindenburg and his clique. And if the French Socialist Party or the General Confederation of Labor did show themselves capable of seeing through the designs of the Daladier and Bonnet-Flandin cliques, they certainly failed to show it in action. We have here repeated again the classic line of weak-willed concessions of self-induced defeats, of constant retreats lacking any sense of direction, all of which drove the German

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N Oct. 4th the factional dispute which threatened to split the U.A.W.A. (United Automobile Workers of America), was amicably settled on the terms recommended by Philip Murray, vice-president of the C.I.O. and Sidney Hillman, who were appointed by Lewis to restore peace. Under the terms of the settlement the four expelled members of the executive board, Richard Frankensteen, Ed Hall, Wyndham Mortimer, vice-presidents, and George Addes, secretary-treasurer, were reinstated.

An examination of the terms of the settlement shows that none of the fundamental issues involved in the controversy were settled. The issue raised by the expelled men involved the question of democracy within the union. That this issue was sidetracked is indicated by the declaration of the arbitration committee: "The absence of recognized authority has resulted in some cases in unjustified stoppages of production in violation of out-standing collective agreements." This is the way by which the peacemakers dodged the fact that many locals in the U.A.W.A. resorted to sit-down strikes and stoppages in order to enforce the contracts signed with the auto companies. "There must be restored within the organization full recognition of administrative responsibility and authority," say the arbitrators. They are concerned not with the legitimate claims of the membership, but with the maintenance of the agreements and good relations with the motor trusts. In no case is the opinion of the rank and file taken into consideration, nor were they permitted to have a hand in the reorganization of the affairs of the union.

Many workers supported the expelled officials because they were led to believe that they would restore democracy in the union, and would put a stop to the high-handed actions of the bosses. The record of the ousted officials and their sponsor, the Stalinists, show that the slogan of "democracy in the union" was never seriously contemplated by them. At the last convention of the union, for instance, the selfsame officials supported the measure which extended the tenure of office of the executive board from one to two years. They still support this measure. They voted for a motion to ban all bulletins and papers issued by the locals. When the Martin machine signed the first supplementary agreement with General Motors without consulting members, they raised no objections and applauded this dictatorial measure. (The supplementary agreement bars "illegal strikes" and gives General Motors the right to enforce discipline. It also affected the wage and hour concessions won from the company by the heroic sit-down strikes of the workers.) Why did these self-styled "friends" of the rank-and-file suddenly emerge as defenders of democracy and militancy?

The explanation for this strange change of front is that the so-called "opposition" wanted to give control of the union to the C.P. faction. In order to do this they posed as champions of the disaffected workers and exploited the legitimate demands of the rank-and-file with the view of gaining support in their bid for power. The workers have been betrayed by both the Martin and Frankensteen factions. None of the issues involved has been met. Since the situation still remains as it was before the controversy, we can expect dissatisfied workers to bring the issues to the fore again.

No less culpable are the left-wing elements. The Love-stoneites, Trotskyites, the Socialists both lefts and rights, supported Martin against Frankensteen. They failed to point out to the workers that neither faction could or would solve their problems, that it was necessary for the workers to oust both cliques, and reorganize the union in such a way as to insure democracy, to limit the powers of the Executive Board, to see to it that all agreements made should be subject to a referendum vote of the members and enforced by them. The struggle for just such an independent policy is the task of far-sighted workers in the union.

The Maritime Situation

The valiant struggle being waged by the "Joint Committee Against Government Hiring Halls" (consisting of the I.W.W. Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union No. 510, The Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Marine Firemens Union), against government control and regulation of the seamen is of vital significance to the whole of American Labor. Here more so than in any other industry a defeat of the workers is bound to facilitate the extension of government control to all other major industries.

The policy of regimentation and government control in the maritime industry is rapidly becoming a serious menace to all labor. The Copeland Continuous Discharge Book, (Fink Book) which registers all seamen with the government and demands "good conduct" as conceived by the shipowners, before a man can get a job, is already accepted by many seamen. Government hiring halls would take from the unions the only means they have of preventing scabs and finks from displacing union men on the ships and leave the government and shipowners to do the hiring. So far, however, the Fink Hall program of Admiral Land and his N. M. U. seconds has been a fizzle, due solely to the effective picket line of the Joint anti-Fink Hall committee. Government training ships are also being established. It is clear that the aim of the government is to supplant the unions by robbing them of their functions and thus insure a docile labor supply. Things have gone so far that even the right to strike is menaced by the proposed compulsory mediation boards.

The Communist controlled N. M. U. (National Maritime Union) has not only failed to combat these fascistic measures, but has actually helped the government to carry out its insidious plans.

The N.M.U. supported the Fink Book. In January, 1938 the N.M.U. officially went on record for the enactment of a compulsory arbitration bill. In the same month the N.M.U. officially endorsed the establishment of government training ships. Now they have gone one step further along the same road. Ralph Emerson, Washington representative of the N.M.U. wrote in the N.M.U. Pilot, September 30th, official organ of the union as follows:

"We know that there will be some type of regimentation put into effect to coordinate the various phases of national defense. The signs of this are already evident. Now with the N.M.U. being recognized as the established collective bargaining agency for an overwhelming majority of men in the industry, it is therefore evident that we will be called upon to cooperate in any national emergency setup affecting shipping or maritime affairs. . . . And so that when maritime labor is called upon to participate in any such set-up, that the government will know just who are the proper persons to deal with."

The issue raised in this sensational statement involves not only government collaboration but also commits the N.M.U. to active participation in imperialist war. It shows up the real nature of the N.M.U. leadership as opportunists and faithful followers of the party line.

Deal in N.M.U.

As a result of these actions in addition to a long list of abuses, ranging from misappropriation of union funds to the coffers of the Communist party, to the most reprehensible forms of gangsterism, bureaucracy and political chicanery, the rank and file of the N.M.U. revolted against their misleaders. While the leading C.P. stooges (except Curran) were recently voted out of office the Communists have by no means lost their influence, especially in many locals. How do they manage to do this?

The right-wing faction headed by Jerry King and the Mariners Club, who were elected to office on the slogan of "rank and file control," made a secret pact with the C. P. which called for joint control by King and the Stalinist incumbent President, Joe Curran. The "new"



administration is in no way different from its predecessor. The party line is still faithfully followed. Realizing that the tempo of the rank and file revolt would overwhelm them, the C.P. cleverly allied themselves with the King faction and remained in power by exploiting the anti-C.P. sentiment of the membership. Now that the elections are over, unconfirmed reports have it, that the C.P. intends to "expose" King as a spy and assume full control of the union.

The heroic strugle of the Joint Committee for clean, militant and independent unionism deserves our fullest support. It is only such coalitions of sincere unionists in all industries who can rouse the workers to the dangers that beset them, and lay the foundation for genuine revolutionary unions, which can finally reorganize the maritime and all other industries for the sole benefit of the producers of wealth, the workers.

Fascists in Unions

The VANGUARD and other labor papers have called attention to the sinister role of the fascist Catholic unions

in the province of Quebec, Canada. It must be remembered that "boring from within" is not the exclusive monopoly of the Communist Party. The Fascists also are adept in that art. This has been shown in Europe, in Canada and in the U.S. as well. The Fascist-Catholics as well as their Protestant brethren, in the crusade against "Communism" aim to wipe out all radical and even liberal elements from the unions. Workers should learn to recognize quickly these insidious elements in their manifold disguises, their spies, clubs and publications. The "Trans-Union News" is such a paper. Ostensibly it is out for rank-and-file control in the transport industry; actually it plays up the anti-communist sentiment of the members in a manner calculated to prejudice the workers against radical ideas as such. It manages to slip in articles extolling the "prolabor" sentiments of the Pope and urges Government control and church guidance of unions. Strikes are sadly deplored.

The same goes for Father Coughlin's "Social Justice" and other similar journals. In justly attacking and exposing the manoeuvres of the C.P. let us not relent in our struggles against these wolves in sheep's clothing. Workers Beware!

Labor "Unity"

Clamor for Unity between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. resounds from all directions. President Roosevelt, "labor's friend," wants it in order to achieve the regimentation of labor. Lovestoneites, Trotskyites, Socialists, and even some "Libertarians" root for unity. At the risk of courting unpopularity by introducing a discordant note we take the liberty of asking a few questions.

Assuming that unity is achieved will such unity mean a more militant policy against the bosses? Will the workers then be enabled to fight off government control? Will business unionism cease? A study of the history and tactics of both outfits compels a negative answer to these questions. The mere amalgamation of accumulated evils inherent in both organizations can result only in the United Front of corruption.

The task of building revolutionary unions still remains. The first step in this direction is to proclaim the independence of the unions from all forms of bureaucratic control. To orientate the struggles of the workers on the basis of the class-war against the capitalists, their state organs, and their stooges in the labor movement—this is the job facing the revolutionary vanguard movement.

S.U.P. Re-Joins A.F. of L.

Latest reports inform us that the Sailors Union of the Pacific has been given a charter to organize all seamen on all coasts. The terms of the charter meet all the demands of the S.U.P.: complete autonomy, amount of per capita remittances to the A. F. of L. to be decided by membership, calling and settling of strikes by S.U.P., and other stipulations too numerous to mention here.

The S.U.P. hopes to receive the moral and financial backing of the A. F. of L. in its struggle for existence against the C.P.-Lewis-C.I.O. maritime union combine. The A. F. of L. wants to use the S.U.P. in order to build a strong rival against the C.I.O. waterfront unions. In view of the S.U.P.'s unfortunate experience while in the A. F. of L. it is, to say the least, extremely doubtful that the A. F. of L. will give such support without demanding concessions of a far-reaching nature.

It should also be remembered that this move will strengthen the diminished prestige of the decrepit A. F. of L. Should unity between the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. take place, which seems likely, the united factions might then crush the S.U.P. The course taken by the S.U.P. is frought with considerable danger. Let us hope for the best and prepare for the worst.

EMMA GOLDMAN IN SPAIN

OMRADE Emma Goldman, now in Spain on her third visit there since the revolution, writes in her first letter to America during this trip that the will of the Spanish people to carry through the war against Fascism and the social revolution is as determined as ever.

"As to the comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., they are invincible," says Comrade Goldman. "I visited the Divisions of two of our comrades who had distinguished themselves by their valour, their courage and their endurance. They look at me in astonishment if one asks whether they will be able to hold out against the overwhelming mechanical forces of Franco's backers. 'Hold out?' they ask. 'Until the last man. Perhaps, if it were only a matter of winning the war some of us might not continue. But it is still the revolution which inspires us and urges us forward regardless of all hardships. The revolution in spite of the impressions of people outside Spain (not the least some of our own comrades) is still our supreme objective. We Spanish anarchists will either rise with the revolution and build our new life or we will go down with it.' A marvelous people these Spaniards. Still more marvelous are our own comrades in their faith and determination to overcome everything and everybody in their march towards their ultimate aim."

In our next number we hope to print a full report by Emma Goldman of the situation in Spain.

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THE DANGER OF NATIONALISM

THE distinction between People and nation is the same as between society and state. "Society," according to Paine, "is always a blessing; the state, however, is in any case a necessary evil and at worst, an unendurable evil." Social organization is a natural conformation which developed from below under the influence of definite conditions and is based upon a consideration of common interests. Government is an artificial creation imposed upon the masses from above, the real purpose of which is the protection of privileged minorities at the expense of the rest of society.

A People is the natural result of social organization, a community of human beings, conditioned by a more or less close kinship of ancestry, common forms and peculiar characteristics of their culture, an identity of language, customs, traditions, etc. This common trait appears in every member of the community and forms an important part of his individual and collective existence. This trait can neither be artificially produced nor destroyed by force unless every member of the People is exterminated. A People may be subjugated by foreign invaders and its natural development artificially thwarted, but it is not possible to destroy its psychic and cultural characteristics. On the contrary, it is just under a foreign yoke that these qualities assert themselves and develop a sort of protective armor for their preservation. The experiences of England with the Irish, of Austria with the Czechs and South Slavs, of Germany with the Poles, to mention only a few examples, are classic proofs of the unyielding tenacity of the cohesive power within a people arising from its social existence. The Jews can here be cited as a typical example. It not infrequently happens that a subjugated people, due to its higher cultural level, absorbs its oppressors. Thus the warlike Mongols conquered China and forced upon them a Manchu emperor, but in the course of a few generations the Mongols became Chinese, since their primitive culture could not resist the greatness and subtlety of the Chinese culture. The same phenomenon was observed in Italy which for centuries was exposed to barbaric invasions. But the highly developed culture of this country, to which about a dozen races and nationalities have contributed, remained victorious over the brutal violence of the barbarians who themselves even contributed towards the rejuvenation of that culture. And this is quite natural, since a People can as little be forced to accept foreign manners, customs and mode of thinking, as a human being can be forced to adopt another individuality. Wherever a natural rapprochment and gradual mutual absorption of various ethnic groups took place, this always happened voluntarily by natural adaptation, but never through brutal violence.

A nation, however, is always the artificial result of governmental organization, just as nationalism is basically merely the ideology of the State, a kind of political religion. It is not national awareness that creates the state; it is

the state which brings the nation to life through national awareness: one is a German, Frenchman or an Italian as one is Catholic, Protestant or Jew. The fact of belonging to a nation is caused by purely external conditions and "reasons of state" conditioned by the special interests of certain castes and classes. A handful of politicians who are nothing but tools of privileged minorities decide arbitrarily about the national existence and future of human entities who must submit to their power without any right of self-determination. Thus for instance the inhabitants of the French Riviera went to bed as Italians and awoke the following morning as Frenchmen because a few diplimats determined their national destiny. Heligoland was a part of the English nation and the loyal subject of the British Dynasty, until it occurred to the government to barter the island to Germany. Its national allegience was thus radically changed, and what the day before was its greatest virtue became the next day the blackest crime. There are many such examples in history. They are significant for the history of the evolution of modern states. It suffices to think of the stupid decisions of the Versailles Peace Treaty to find the best illustration of the way in which nations are formed.

The fact is that most of the larger states of Europe have been formed by small nationalities which even in their origin and language were widely different from each other but were later incorporated by force against their own will into a nation for dynastic or economic reasons. Even there. where the so-called national unification was promoted by great popular movements as in Germany and in Italy, reactionary ideas were in the background of the movement which inevitably had to lead to the worse results. Mazzini and his followers were undoubtedly revolutionaries as to their methods, but their political aspirations for the creation of a national unitarian state tended obviously in the direction of the great reaction which is upon us today, and which becomes an ever greater menace to the common culture of humanity. From the "political theology" of Mazzini to the Fascism of Mussolini there is only one step. Bismarck's Reich was the forerunner of the Third Reich of Hitler.

Let us glance at the new states created after the World War. The same national minorities which could not express strongly enough their indignation against the violence of foreign oppressors, are today, after having realized their aspirations, the worst oppressors of the national minorities in their own countries. In the name of national emancipation they threw off the yoke of foreign tyranny to assume a yoke much more oppressive than the previous. Poland, Jugoslavia and the border states between Germany and Russia are classic examples. This is quite natural, since the small states always aim to follow in the footsteps of the larger ones and to imitate their attitudes. The best

proof of this is the impossibility of nationalities living peacefully together within the framework of a modern state.

It was precisely the modern constitutional state that developed the concept of the nation and nationalism to its fullest extent. Absolute monarchy which represents, so to speak, the "fetishist" period of the evolution of the State. in which the King was the visual expression of the entire system treated the masses of subjects, deprived of any legal rights, as a herd of cattle to be milked. For these reasons they were seldom called upon to defend their country, which task was entrusted to mercenaries. It was the modern State that supposedly gave its citizens the right to participate in the government of the country by giving them the vote, which developed the idea of the nation to the fullest extent. The citizen, hypnotized by his newly acquired rights, had now to assume the duties that arose from these rights. The ballot box became the sacrificial altar of the human personality; the vote became the voluntary means of spiritual and economic enslavement of the masses.

The French Jacobins were the first to create the abstract concept of the State in the modern sense and along with it the abstract idea of the nation. Since that time the idea of national unity became the slogan of most of the bourgeois political parties from whom, among many other things, our modern State-Socialists have taken their heritage. National unity became the symbol for cultural development, the symbol of ethnic life; every obstacle placed in its path was considered a threat to national culture. And this myth that was accepted silently as the truth, dominates our minds today more than ever, in spite of the fact that history demonstrates the contrary. Precisely the periods of so-called "national disunity" have been the greatest cultural epochs in history, whereas the periods of "national unity" were periods of cultural decline, or led to such periods after having exhausted the spiritual achievements of the past.

Ancient Greece, which was nationally and politically utterly divided, created in spite of this, a culture which is in many respects still a model. But later, when Alexander of Macedonia, created the political unity of Greece by the sword, the cultural forces of the land wilted as though cut off from its roots.

The great period of free city-states was an epoch of the most extreme national division. In spite of this the culture created at that time belongs to the greatest that the Occident has produced. The great monuments of architecture, painting, sculpture, etc., of that period are brilliant examples of that great phase of human development. But later when royal absolutism planted its banner in the name of national unity, the last remnants of cultural greatness melted like snow in the rays of the sun, an epoch of horrible wars and devastating barbarism swept all Europe.

And is not the history of Germany a corroboration of the same historical truth? All achievements of genius and culture in that country date from the time of "national disunity." Its classical literature from Klopstock to Schiller and Goethe, the art of the romantic school, its philosophers

from Kant to Feuerbach and Nietzche, the zenith period of musical composition from Beethoven to Wagner—all this occurred during that time. National unity, however, under the Prussian leadership led to the decline of German culture, to the triumph of militarism and a spiritless bureaucracy, and paved the way over which, fifty years later, the nation, like weak-minded cattle was driven into the Third Reich.

This was not the case only in Germany, although national development in this country took an especially extreme form. The history of Italy, Spain, France, Russia, and other countries is a repetition of the same historical phenomena. And this is inevitable since States cannot create culture as is so often thoughtlessly maintained. The downfall of States is often caused by the results of higher culture which the latter could not restrain in due time. State and culture, in the highest sense, are insuperable contradictions.

A strong State is the greatest obstacle to higher spiritual culture. Wherever States are in the process of decaying, or where their power is limited to a minimum, culture thrives at its best. Political power always strives for uniformity and attempts to cast every form of social activity into one pattern. Because of this it comes into an unavoidable conflict with the creative powers of the cultural development, which always needs variety and diversity as much as political power needs uniformity and rigid forms.

(To be concluded in the next issue of VANGUARD)

THE P. O. U. M. FRAME-UP

DUE TO the secrecy of the proceedings, very little news about the happenings at the "trial" of the P.O.U.M., a left Communist opposition in Spain, has been able to reach us. Virtually no one in Spain believes the fantastic charges against the defendants (Gorkin, Andrade and the others) except a small handful of deluded Stalinist lackeys. And no actual evidence of connections with Fascist powers has been forthcoming. There are merely accusations of "Trotskyism" and everything this charge is supposed to carry with it.

In spite of the Negrin government's assurances, no legal guarantees for the accused have been granted. The government has refused to permit prominent French lawyers to assist in behalf of the accused. They pretend that the trial is a public one, yet due to censorship, not a single line has been published by Spanish newspapers on the proceedings. Only the Stalinist foreign press prints "information" furnished by their "special agents" which they hope will justify themselves in the eyes of public opinion for the monstrous crimes they are prepared to carry through.

The S.I.A. has protested the action of the government and has demanded the acquittal of Gorkin and his comrades. Protests from liberal and radical forces the world over must prevent this perversion of justice that will bring dishonor to the cause for which the Spanish proletariat is shedding its blood.

THE New Deal administration is preparing to make its third and decisive appearance on the national scene. The question that naturally arises is whether Roosevelt will reap his accustomed harvest of political success.

Needless to say, the anti-New Dealers consider the Tydings-George debacle a definite forewarning of New Deal defeat; but since those primaries New Deal theoreticians have evolved a masterpiece of logic which purports to account for those defeats, and in the same breath predict New Deal victory. We suspect that although state political machines have in some instances defeated New Deal candidates for congress, there just ain't no machine alive kin lick Roosevelt's federal machine! That Roosevelt is depending more on this machine than on any possible liberal backing would seem to be substantiated by New Deal lack of action against the fascistic activities of Jersey City's Mayor Hague who, you will remember, is himself one of Roosevelt's firm supporters . . . A little purging of elements like Hague would certainly have added tremendously to New Deal liberal reputation.

But in certain quarters the New Deal bubble may strike a pin. A spontaneous protest from certain sections of the labor movement awakening into active protest and opposition to New Deal regimentation is not unlikely. Here we have in mind, of course, recent activities against government interference in unions among the West Coast Sailors Union of the Pacific, the Marine Transport Workers (I.W.W.) on both coasts and the almost unprecedented series of upset elections in a large number of the Marine Fireman's Unions. Despite this encouragement, we have not the right to delude ourselves into considering these developments as indicative of more than a trend in the labor movement, which to be furthered successfully will require conscious and effective action and support from truly class conscious forces. From the very start, New Deal politics has adopted a pseudo pro-labor attitude whose well-camouflaged veil the workers have just begun to penetrate. Of course the deception was furthered by the rabid support of Roosevelt by the Communists; so now, an understanding of New Deal capitalism should serve the further function of showing up the CP in its true colors.

Here, in New York, Franklyn D's own bailiwick, the American Labor Party has decided once again to support the New Deal ticket (with two exceptions); although for a time it appeared as if the temptation of a ride with special prosecutor Dewey of racket fame on a bandwagon drawn even by a diminutive elephant might entice them from the straight and narrow. Incidentally, we cannot forebear from remarking the miraculous powers of recuperation the ALP has evidenced in sloughing off even the memory of their ardent support of Supreme Court Justice Cotillo, famous for his unremitting efforts on be-

half of the Busch Jewelry strikers. I daresay most of the rest of us won't forget one of the worst anti-picketing injunctions ever granted in New York State. Perhaps an even more interesting tid-bit is the withdrawal of the entire N. Y. State Communist Party slate save for one, who, according to Amter, State Communist Chairman, is going to make the beautiful New Deal program still more perfect than it is, in favor of ALP and New Deal candidates. In response to this action, Governor Lehman and Charles Poletti, Democratic-Labor Party candidate for Lieutenant Governor, replied with a one-two to the jaw when they separately telegraphed Amter an unequivocal rejection of (C.P.) support . . . "or of that of any person who subscribes to or is sympathetic with the principles of the C.P." To which bombardment Krumbein, C.P. secretary piped up-"The C.P. has not endorsed any candidates by name (italics mine) or candidates of any other party, and does not contemplate any such endorsements." Here's something we almost forgot. The Socialist Workers Party, Trotskyites all, have decided to support the ALP. Straight from the mouths of their prophets, we hear that if the C.P. supports the ALP it is conclusive evidence of C.P. opportunism. To this we are not loathe to say amen. Yet some of us are wondering whether the same tar won't feather the S.W.P.

As the A.L.P. continues to grow, the C.P. is increasingly jubilant. They might just as well be jubilant, and they probably are, over the mushroom growth of the latest Californian 'pick-up to prosperity,' or as Collier's Walter Davenport puts it, "California Scrip Tease." There, with a fine disregard for anything and everything, and of course, anybody, Messers Allen and Allen, promoters par excellence of the supernatural, have dished up a concoction worthy of polluting the palate of Caesar himself. The bill coming up to the California Legislature which contains this remarkable plan is known as the California State Retirement Pensions Act, and the most important of its provisions are as follows: thirty dollars every Thursday for all Californians over fifty (to be totally spent each week) according to the following restrictions-they must not work, and they must have resided in California for one year previous to the enactment of the bill, and for five years thereafter; an administrator is to be chosen from among three designated men who is to be in supreme authority over the plan until he is superseded in 1940; the thirty dollars is to be paid in warrants which shall not be printed in denominations of less than one dollar; and finally, these warrents are to be legal tender in the state. Special stamps selling for two cents will also be printed. and the possessor of a warrant must affix each week one such stamp to the warrant to make it negotiable. After fifty-two weeks the possessor of the warrant will receive one dollar cash from the state, the state making, therefore a four cent profit on each warrant each year. If we assume that a half of California's million eligibles adopt the plan, 780,000,000 warrants will have been issued at the end of the first year, and regularly each week following, 15,000,000 warrants will have to be redeemed at a dollar each, and an equal number reissued. In 27.56 weeks the \$413,400,000 collected from sale of revenue stamps will be exhausted, but during that period more money to the tune of .02 times 15,000,000 times 27.56 weeks will have come in from stamp sales. This \$8,268,000 will be exhausted in redeeming just a little more than the number of warrants that still remain to be redeemed in the 28th week plus one year of the plan's existence.

The tremendous growth in number of supporters of this plan, which quite naturally include the Workers Alliance (dominated by the Communist Party) is clearly indicative of a corresponding growth of what may be called 'depres-

sion psychology, among the Americans of this period. These modern "prosperity" schemes which have flooded the country, though in themselves economically impossible of success, present, however, a grave danger as they provide vehicles for fascist drives. We are not surprised to find they have implicit Communist support (Workers Alliance). The Stalinists in their impotency are only repeating the errors they committed in Germany prior to Hitler's ascent. The manner of fighting such schemes is not by concocting wilder ones, but by boldly putting forth a program which answers the crying need of the proletariat today. And such a program must necessarily call for working class industrial control and production for use. The struggle for such a program guided through libertarian channels provides the best guarantee for social, political and economic emancipation.

AGRICULTURE IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD

By CHRISTIAN CORNELISSEN

THE most difficult problems which a communist society will have to solve are undoubtedly those which concern agriculture and ownership of land.

It is certainly inadmissible in principle that the land on which we all have to live should be held in private ownership.

The right of the "strongest," of the "first settler" cannot be recognized as rights by a communist society.

But there is no sphere in production, no form of life in society where old ways and customs have continued to persist more tenaciously than in agriculture and in the life of country people.

Especially in parts which are thinly populated, no form of society can prevent an isolated farmer from continuing to speak of his land because he alone with his family works it, to speak of his house because he and members of his family are living and have lived in it. If in a country as modern as England an expression "my home is my castle" is current, we must foresee all the difficulties with which a free communist order will be faced when it has abolished private ownershop of land and houses. We wish to point out, in passing, that in the long run it will be impossible to separate those two categories of wealth—land and houses—as land to cultivate and land to be built on form a whole, so that communal ownership of houses will inevitably follow on communal ownership of land.

The difficulties in this domain will necessitate numerous concessions so that even in a developed communal order the real conditions may differ in one country from another, in one region form another.

Those difficulties will be neglible, certainly, for large estates, castles, game preserves, forests and fields, etc., that had been seized in former centuries by a few families of the privileged classes. Those estates will return to the collecticity to be socialized and confined to the care of the village or town community where they are situated and which will exploit them for the benefit of the population. The town and

village councils will decide how parts of those estates-houses, stables, fields, woods, land under the plough, shall be used according to their character.

It will be much more difficult to apply communist* principles in the solution of the practical difficulties in the occupation and cultivation of land owned by the laboring population.

If a communist society really wishes to earn the reputation of being a society run democratically, from the bottom up, it should leave the local peasants to decide by themselves, in their assembly or by their delegates, the way the land shall be cultivated. This principle, which may be also applied to large nationalized estates, will normally have the result that peasants who are satisfied with the produce of their land will stay where they are, but that less favored persons will try to enlarge their field of activity, or to settle on free lands, as for instance on certain parts of large socialized estates.

In any case a communist order will have to make a distinction between ownership of the land and its holding by those who work it.

The worker of the land ought to be able to dispose freely of his produce if he does not interfere with the rights of his fellow citizens. He must be guaranteed by the commune the peaceful possession of the land he works and the house he inhabits, but he must not be given the right either to sell land or house, to bequeath or to hand them over to other persons. In short, a peasant in a communist society will be the possessor, the holder, the occupier but not the legal owner of his land and house.

Roman law defined the right of ownership by an expression which admitted the use of the possession in its extreme consequence, destruction included. Jus utendi et abutendi was the formula. A communist society will have to revise this historical right and to modernize it by changing it into

^{*} We always use the term communism in its economic sense, not in the political Bolshevik sense.

jus utendi, the right of use only. Modern society and modern institutions of each country will have to determine where use ends and abuse begins in matter of possession.

If a social revolution suddenly broke out, the simplest measure—provisionary measure—would be to hand over by a general decree all land and all houses to town and village councils and to order the old owners to continue from the beginning to pay their taxes as in the preceding year, but to their town or village, without paying rent. On the other hand the tenants would have to continue to pay their rents to the town or village instead of to their former owner. After this provisionary measure the population of each region could arrange for the definite occupation and the cultivation of the land and the possession of the houses, but always strictly on the fundamental principle: personal possession wherever it is desired, but common ownership.

Thee factors which in our capitalist order determine the land rent can on the whole be divided into three categories: 1st. The factors which fix the differential land rent which is based on the differences of fertility or of situation of the land; 2nd. The factors which determine the absolute rent which may be levied even on the least fertile and badly situated land. These factors are based on the right of monopoly which the owner holds apart from any consideration of difference of quality of the land; 3rd. The factors which in their whole represent the element of financial speculation, an element very powerful in new countries and which even in countries of an old civilization always have a considerable influence on rents and the price of land, especially in periods of trouble and of difficulties. We remind the reader of the war of 1914-18 and the housing crises after the war in all countries.

Now let us suppose that the economic power of the landlords over agricultural and urban land is entirely abolished and the community in each region have taken their place. The last two categories of factors enumerated by us would thus have disappeared, as the communities will not speculate, and even if they possess the monopoly of all lands in their territory an absolute rent on all land without exception could not harm the inhabitants as they themselves finally decide the conditions under which all lands will be cultivated or built upon.

On the other hand, the factors of the first category would undoubtedly continue to function. For, as long as lands of greater and less fertility will rival in the production of the same agricultural articles, the nonexistence of a differential land rent and the fact that each producer would harvest the produce of his work and that of his family, would result in everybody preferring to cultivate the land giving the largest harvest. Likewise the inhabitants of a town would all wish to be lodged in the best situated houses, the most sanitary and best built. If the resistance on the part of the owners was overcome, rivalry among the farmers and the inhabitants of communities could only end by having another economic power take possession of the differences in advantages which houses of superiar construction or situation have above others.

When the representatives of the whole agricultural or urban population have taken the place of the present owners, we can say that the different land rent will continue to exist. But instead of being paid to some wealthy individuals it will annually be handed over to the community. The land worker will then be able to enjoy the fruits of his labor without paying tribute to a person who has no part in production. Common ownership of the land will guarantee him peaceful possession of the land which he cultivated. Land and farm rents payable to the community will replace in a communist society the land and farm rents now paid to private owners.

One can foresee that in many regions under a communist regime measures will be applied like those which now, in a capitalist society, are in force in certain new countries especially in Australia, measures which aim at reserving to the community the surplus value of land created gradually by the increase of population, that is, by the action of all.

In new countries the old customs in production and partition of goods are less deeply rooted than in countries of an old civilization. Today already we can say that the greater part of the Australian Continent belongs to the Nation. Queensland has adopted in its Constitution a prohibition to sell national land.

How do they manage in those countries?

Let us take as an example the system applied for the exploitation of land in the territory of the federal capital of Australia, at Canberra, south of Sydney. All that territory belongs to the Commonwealth of Australia and cannot be bought or sold. The right to occupy one or more plots of land or in the town of Canberra is given by public auction, and the highest bidder gets the right of occupation at an annual rent representing 5% of the value of the plot which he himself has fixed. The Federal Capital Commission receives the payments. The value of the land—apart from improvements—will be fixed again by public auction after twenty years and each ten year period thereafter. The construction of buildings must be started within two years after the auction and finished a year later unless a delay is granted.

Land not intended for building, cultivated land especially, is let for a period not exceeding 25 years (see Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia No. 19—1926, p. 161-162).

In a communist society the local community which applies similar measures should naturally demand from a new tenant that he compensate his predecessor the value of all the improvements which the latter personally has made on his land. This is at present being done in Australa.

It is evidently impossible to describe or even to foresee the different ways in which the local communities will apply the general principles of libertarian communism in view of the customs of the inhabitants and the local cultivation of the land.

But one thing is clear: As long as in the first transition period of our capitalist society into a communist order, the industrial population will continue to follow the rule of renumeration for work accomplished, we must expect the rural populations to apply the same rule in agriculture: the landworker will demand that he receive the produce of his labor and will insist upon being compensated for all the improvements which he personally introduced in case he hands over his land to another person, for some reason.

It is equally evident that in agricultural regions as well as in industrial parts of the country measures of a more advanced communism may be applied to complete the general regime.

The community might for instance interest itself in the collective buying of all sorts of agricultural implements such as ploughing, harvesting, theshing machines, etc., and rent them to the farmers in the vicinity. It might acquire manure, seed, fuel, etc., as well as undertake to deliver agricultural produce to the central shops in town, and to receive in ex-

change from industrial towns household and kitchen utensils, tools, etc., which the rural population needs.

Finally both rural as town communities will have to create schools, nurseries, asylums for old people, meeting halls and all sorts of free institutions for the inhabitants.

If the communist ideal inspires the civilized populations of the future there will arise a sort of noble rivalry among the different communities each of which will try to respond most generously to the principles of Mutual Aid.

DISCUSSION OF A LIBERTARIAN PROGRAM

PROGRESS in the spread of libertarian ideas is beginning to make significant advances in this section of the country. A most encouraging sign of this progress is the conference of Libertarian Socialists at the Mohegan Colony, New York, which took place on September 5th and 12th. Over fifty comrades participated in a series of discussions which culminated in the formation of a committee to launch the Libertarian Socialist League. A preliminary manifesto briefly presenting their principles and program was issued by comrade Harry Kelly, temporary secretary. No organizational plans have as yet been announced. The following is a summary of the manifesto, copies of which can be obtained by writing to Harry Kelly, Crompond, N. Y.

The Mohegan Manifesto

In an introductory statement the manifesto presents a stirring indictment of the chaos into which civilization has been plunged by the present social system. "In a world halfmad and wholly chaotic, emotion supplants reason, and the good, the intelligent and the humane side of men and women is drowned in a sea of lies, ignorance and cruelty until men seeking freedom and well-being for all grow discouraged or apprehensive for the future of civilization. The 'war to end war' and to 'make the world safe for democracy' has developed a callousness unbelievable twenty-odd years ago." In our own country, the richest in the world, one third of the population exists on \$471 per year, or less, for a family of four or five persons. Millions rot away in idleness and a few make fabulous profits. Those seeking a solution have been fooled and betrayed into yielding their individual freedom to new rulers,—the Hitlers, Mussolinis, Stalins—to dictators whose ever growing power corrupts and degrades them and ultimately wipes out the will-power of the masses and destroys them.

In place of the patchwork solutions offered by reformers the manifesto sets forth the libertarian socialist ideal of a free society organized on the principle of voluntary association. The methods of achieving such a society are indicated in an eight-point program. Contrary to many current misconceptions, the League, in the first point of its program, states its belief in the need for organizations. For the libertarians themselves, they propose the forming of groups on a local and autonomous basis, which will federate to coordinate and

make more effective their propaganda. In the economic sphere, labor unions (especially the industrial form) can defend the workers' rights today and will be "transformed into an agency for production and distribution" in a free society. Consumers cooperatives can play an analagous role. Freedom in education, with the goal of self-discipline for the child is suggested as the principle to guide libertarian schools for children.

The League is willing to cooperate with other groups of honest radicals and labor unions, not to bore within and gain control, but to spread our ideas and work together for a common aim, in the spirit of fair play. We must not become the dupes of the capitalist or ruling classes in their quarrels with one another; the League opposes all wars, "Revolution as such is not war. Where it becomes so, as at present in Spain, it is because violence has been thrust upon the people by the armed resistance of the privileged classes to an essentially peaceful process." On the land problem the manifesto states, "Of the nongovernmental theories regarding land tenure the two most plausible it seems to us, are 'occupancy and use' and a syndicalist form of ownership such as prevails in certain parts of revolutionary Spain. Both are consistent with Libertarian Socialism for this is a theory of social organization based upon experimentation. 'Occupation and Use, as the only title to land justifies itself-no man should 'own' land unless he is using it, and using it in such a way as to justify his claim. On the other hand, the Syndicalist form of ownership means nothing more nor less than that individuals form themselves into a syndicate to work the land. No mere phrases such as 'socializing the land' will satisfy either the peasant, the farmer or ourselves."

The eighth, and last point in the program discusses the relation of the state to the economic system:

"The three best known schools of non-governmental socialists are Free Communism, Mutualism and Syndicalism. The economics of the first is as its name implies, Free Communism, which has nothing in common with Bolshevism or the iron-clad regime of present-day Russia; that of the second is mutual exchange of products by the system known as Proudhon's Mutual Bank; and of the third, as has been explained a form of industrial group-

ing similar to the modern trade union but transformed into units for the production and distribution of those things that make up our daily life. All three schools are libertarian in that they acknowledge the State as the paramount enemy of man and seek to supplant it with a society based upon voluntary association and good will. It is the State that supports Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and all the other despots, including our own. It is the State that is the tool of the banker and capitalist and makes possible the millions of unemployed, the starved and stunted men, women and children and the evils that flow from them in our present day society. Social theories that fail to recognize this are dealing with details and leave the real enemy untouched."

Discussion of Program Needed

We welcome this manifesto of the Libertarian Socialist League. We welcome it as a hopeful sign of a long overdue process of awakening taking place within the libertarian ranks. The struggle for socialism and liberty as one and indivisible task can be waged only by people deeply permeated with the spirit and doctrines of both. And it is a significant effort in the direction of undertaking the necessary work of preparing such people that we welcome these first steps of organizing the Libertarian Socialist League and formulating its tasks in the light of its larger ideals.

We do not, however, altogether agree with some of the ideas expressed in this manifesto by way of outlining the possible approach to the realization of our ideal. And since it is our conviction that a true approach can be evolved only as a result of serious discussion of the fundamentals of our theory and tactics, we take it upon ourselves to point out wherein we disagree with some points stated in this manifesto, hoping that the ensuing discussion—which we earnestly invite—will lead to a greater clarification of our basic views on this matter.

The Premises of Socialism

Libertarian Socialists share certain tenets with other socialists which are basic to the very idea of socialism. Without such premises socialism ceases to be a distinct ideal and becomes a mere symbol for the vague aspirations toward a utopian future.

Those premises are: collective ownership of the means of production and a planned economy based upon production for use. That means the abolition of the free market, at least for the key branches of the national economy. We share those tenets with other socialists, differing from them on our insistence upon liberty as the indispensible condition for the realization and efficient functioning of this economy. But we do not, unless we are prepared to give up socialism as a desirable type of economy, confuse the particular forms which the struggle for liberty assumes under a free market economy with the general principles of Libertarian Socialism.

Mutualism Is Not Socialism

It seems to us that the authors of the manifesto, in their eager desire to conciliate and harmonize various historic

schools of the libertarian movement, did not altogether free themselves from this confusion, Mutualism is a libertarian and not a socialist doctrine. One can be a consistent libertarian and uphold at the same time the economic ideals of mutualism. One cannot, however, believe in the efficacy of a free market as an automatic regulator of an equitable economy, as the mutualists do, and at the same time uphold the necessity of establishing a collective agency for the control and regulation of such a market, or even advocate its total abolition and its replacement by a socialized form of distribution. A Libertarian Socialist, as the very name implies, must choose the latter solution, which he cannot escape by opposing to it the principle of experimentation.

Socialism and Free Market Economy Mutually Exclusive

The underlying idea of this experimentation is to let those various forms of economy live peacefully alongside each other and have the people choose any one of them upon the basis of actual performance. But, clearly, such a form of "co-existence" of conflicting economic patterns can be thought of only when applied to various communities and not to individuals. One can conceive, if not admit, the possibility of various communities choosing between a planned and a free market economy and then entering into some form of national economic collaboration. But it is obviously very much of a contradiction to assume that a community as a whole will plan and regulate its economy and that at the same time it will permit this work of planning to be set at nought by the functioning of an unregulated economy based on the price mechanism.

What is more, the idea of experimentation cannot be applied in full even in respect to separate communities. No community can be economically self-sufficient. Its economic relationships with other communities must be subject to some general plan of production and consumption and not left to the interplay of blind economic forces governed by the mere law of supply and demand. And since the basic tenet held by every socialist is that the law of supply and demand, even when butressed by free credit, can insure neither the efficient functioning of the economic mechanism nor an equitable distribution of the collective income, we must view the idea of free choice of the types of economy by various communities as due to the lack of sufficient clarity in distinguishing between libertarianism as a general philosophy and Libertarian Socialism as a concrete program for the realization of this ideal of liberty.

"Occupancy and Use" Not an Equitable Solution

This lack of clarity in respect of the economic ideal of Libertarian Socialism is also manifested in the attempted solution of the land problem. "Occupancy and Use" as a principle of land tenure can be applied during the transitional period. In many cases, as is pointed out by comrade Cornelissen in this issue of our magazine, it will be dictated by the deeply rooted patterns of economic activity prevailing in most countries.

But it is only as a temporary concession to those patterns that the principle of "occupancy in use" can be applied to the solution of this land problem. It is our belief that the great mass of the agricultural population can be drawn into the larger scheme of a collective economy when approached in the spirit of concessions and compromise. Under no conditions, however, can the libertarian socialists accept this compromise as a permanent solution satisfying the basic demands of social equity.

"Occupancy and Use" is a more equitable principle than private property. And it does give a rough approximation to social justice under conditions prevailing in a backward agricultural economy, where the use of machines and the application of science are comparatively unknown. But in a modern agricultural economy the principle of "occupancy and use," when not checked by a policy of collective control, will lead to a travesty of justice. The limitations placed by a backward technique upon the personal or family use of land have been swept away by modern science and technique. There is a tremendous difference between the amount of land a family of cotton growers can cultivate with the old implements and the productive capacity, as measured in the potential land utilization, of the same family furnished with tractors and cotton picking machines.

The principle of "occupancy and use" would have to be modified by some egalitarian scheme of reapportionment of land and equal distribution of machinery. This in turn would have to be supplemented by some form of price control, necessary in order to keep agricultural production from being demoralized by gluts and overproduction prices. But price control based upon a managed production creates a monopolistic situation which again demands a certain degree of social control; and that, apart from general regulation of agricultural activity, will also take the form of collective ownership of machinery and scientific equipment.

In other words, even if we start with "occupancy and use" as a guiding principle of land tenure in the new economy of libertarian socialism, we finally arrive at an intricate and an all-pervading system of social control which in practice will differ but little from a collectivized agriculture and which even may serve as its logical pre-condition. And while in many cases this rather involved approach to the only equitable solution of the land problem, agricultural collectives, may be forced upon Libertarian Socialists by considerations of expediency, it can never be granted the status of a permanent solution, consistent with the premises of Libertarian Socialism and rivaling the syndicalist formula-which gives the highest organizational expression to the program of a collectivized agriculture—in point of social equity, realistic orientation and clarity of constructive purposes.

U. L. O. DEFICIT

The Spanish Revolution has ceased publication for lack of funds. The large debt which was left must nevertheless be paid. A good part of this fund could be covered by long due remittances from those groups and individuals who owe the U.L.O. for pledges, bundle orders and other items. All such groups and individuals are requested to send funds for the U.L.O. and the Spanish Revolution to I. Radinowsky, Treasurer, 45 West 17th Street, New York City.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

READER of the Vanguard writes us from Calgary, Canada, asking for information about the basic idea of libertarian communism. He is an ex-member of the Communist Party who, like many other workers, came to the conclusion that this party is rapidly degenerating into an anti-proletarian force. He did however become imbued with some of the dogmatic attitudes of the communists towards problems which can be approached only in the spirit of free inquiry.

Thus he also asks us whether "the libertarian communists accept economic determinism and dialectical materialism which seem to me the most logical doctrines." And since many a radical has come to associate those doctrines with the basic premises of a proletarian outlook, we find it necessary to publish here our answers to the questions propounded by our reader, showing that the belief that the acceptance of those doctrines is essential to the radical movement is the result of indoctrination and not a logical compulsion to search out the first principles of proletarian struggle.

QUESTION: What is the basic idea of libertarian communism?

ANSWER: The basic idea of libertarian communism is indicated by the name itself. It is the idea that communism—or socialism for that matter—in the initial period of transition will be characterized by features which will make it more of what is commonly known as a socialist than a communist society, starting with the widest measure of individual freedom and not its total annihilation.

Only a few years ago this was still considered a romantic idea born out of too generous a faith in human nature. It was believed that during the storm and stress period of social transition individual liberty has to be curbed in order to permit the recasting of the individual in the pattern of a socialist or communist society.

The idea led logically to the acceptance of the dictatorship by the "revolutionary vanguard," the "elect," the monolithic "party." For if the individual cannot be trusted during the transitional period, it follows that a special institute of "guardians" (the "true Leninist or Trotzkyite Vanguard") has to be created and vested with absolute power in order to rid the individual of the "old Adam" and make him fit to discharge his duties and enjoy his right in the new society.

Libertarians Are Realists

The horrible experience of the Soviet purges fully exposed the sinister implications of this fallacy. It demonstrated with tragic clarity the truth of the basic libertarian contention that "power corrupts and absolute power does absolutely so." There are very few intelligent persons who do not see the close connection between the monstrous crimes now committed in Stalinland and the vesting of unlimited despotic powers in the hands of the small group of "party leaders" at the very beginning of the October Revolution. And the

more the lesson of those horrible events dawns upon them, the more they turn toward the realistic view of the libertarians in regard to the necessity of curbing power, imposing checks upon it from the very first steps taken by the new forces toward the realization of a new social order.

It was the curbing of excessive power that held the center of attention of the framers of the new political organism of American democracy. Had this problem not been faced and solved in accordance with the prevailing ideas, American democracy would not have played its great historic role in the past century. It would have degenerated into some form of Caesarism based upon a demagogic appeal and carrying within it the seeds of rapid social disintegration.

New Forms for the Old Spirit

But eighteenth century solutions are inadequate in view of the enormous complexity of modern life. The problem remains the same: to break up any potential centers of concentration of power and safeguard individual rights against the encroachments of society, which is the source of tyranny and political and economic degeneration. But the methods and solutions must be different. They must be brought up to the level of modern ideas and realities—and that is the basic task of libertarian communism, a doctrine which approaches scientifically the surpassing problem of our times, and that is to find room for the expansion of individual liberty in a socialized economic order.

Libertarian Drive Not a Derivative

QUESTION: Do the libertarian communists accept the doctrines of economic determinism and dialectical materialism?

ANSWER: No sociological doctrine can be accepted by any libertarian which does not adequately explain the origin, role and function of the struggle for liberty. Far from explaining it the doctrine of economic determinism belittles it by reducing the libertarian impulse to a mere shadow, a reflex of economic processes. This goes against patent historic facts, against contemporary social experience which clearly points to the independent role and origin of the libertarian impulse.

The struggle for liberty cannot be deduced from economic necessity. It is rooted in a world of its own, actuated by factors which are just as primary as economic drives. This struggle must of course be expressed in the language of economic realities WHICH IMPOSE UPON IT CERTAIN CONDITIONS and limitations. But that does not make it a mere super-structure, a subordinate form of human activity following faithfully the contours of the primary factor of economic development.

Our age, by posing the problem of a Fascisized socialism—Stalinism—and Fascism tending towards a socialized economy—Hitlerism—has brought out clearly the inadequacy of a doctrine which attributes to the economic factor the role of an all determining cause. The tragic underestimation of the ominous potentialities of Fascism is in no measure due to

the one-sided narrow interpretation of its character as a mere reflection of the economic drives of the ruling classes. It is more than that—and in realizing this fact our generation is led to repudiate a doctrine which by undue simplification of the historic process has become a potent factor in relating the vigilance against the enemies of human liberty and progress.

Libertarian Communism and Dialectical Materialism

Economic determinism is a sociological doctrine. It has to stand the test not only of logical consistency but of social experience. And that means that every radical movement which embodies a certain aspect of this experience must have a definite attitude toward this doctrine.

It is however, utterly beyond the province of a radical movement to take any stand on metaphysical doctrines. And dialectical materialism is essentially a metaphysical doctrine (not of course in the derogatory sense, in which the term is frequently employed in Marxist quarters); it makes certain affirmations in regard to the ultimates of human knowledge: the nature of being (which is matter according to this doctrine) and its mode of existence, (dialectical development).

The mere possession of the valuable social experience acquired by the radical movement does not endow the latter with special methods for ascertaining the truth of those metaphysical assertions. Their proof—that is, granted such proof can be established—would be necessarily of the most involved kind, resting upon the most abstruse kind of philosophical reasoning and not upon patent facts of social experience.

That is why no genuine radical movement, that is, one which has not degenerated into an obscurantist church will commit itself to a definite metaphysics, deeming it the province of free philosophical inquiry and not dogmatic indoctrination.

CRISIS IN EUROPE

(Continued from page two)

social-democratic organizations to surrender and extinction.

German labor failed to show the necessary unity and—what proved to be even more fatal—it failed to answer the counter-revolutionary offensive with an offensive of its own. French and British labor organizations, which now hold the destinies of European civilization in their hands are manifesting the same fatal weakness. They failed to meet the enemy in his own ground, which is now the ground of international action and which demands on the part of labor a high sense of international solidarity, a revolutionary will to break asunder the fetters of national sovereignty and the formulation of the only objective capable of mobilizing the revolutionary energies of the European masses—and that is the struggle for a united Federalist and Socialist Europe.

WITH the collapse of the French Popular Front and the consummation of the Munich pact by the pro-Fascist Daladier government, France enters into a new period of reaction reminiscent of the Bruening days in Germany. The dictatorial trend which the government pursued cautiously has now assumed the proportions of a major drive as evidenced by the military measures undertaken to beat down workers' protests to the abolition of the 40-hour week. Whatever remained of the Popular Front went down to defeat with the granting to Premier Daladier of semi-dictatorial decree powers over economic and social affairs. On this crucial question the Socialists in the Chamber of Deputies abstained from voting. But on the question of the Chamberlain-Daladier Munich pact they gave their endorsement to the rape of Czeckoslovakia.

Crisis Due to Class Struggle

The French crisis results not only from the threatening war situation in Europe but has its roots in the internal class struggles of French life. As described in previous issues of the VANGUARD French capital was made confident by the passive acceptance of defeats by the General Confederation of Labor (C.G.T.) after the workers had won great victories during the wave of mass strikes in 1936. Capital resorted to sabotage in an effort to break down the fruits of those victories. Sabotage not only in the carrying out of agreements, but sabotage of a more subtle and malicious form. The financial oligarchy has brought about a severe industrial crisis by quietly draining off capital to foreign lands after the penalties for exportation were removed by Daladier. These 200 patriots of France have in the last years transferred many billion francs abroad. The devaluation of the franc has hit the poorer classes. Real wages were considerably reduced. But the bourgeoisie profited. The taxes they formerly paid were reduced in half.

We wish to point out that the sabotage of industry and the flight of capital is not the result of low profits. On the contrary, the year 1937 showed the highest returns in the French monopolistic enterprises

Only one kind of answer could be consistent with the needs of the workers in the face of such a direct attack by the bosses—a frontal counter-attack of direct economic action by the unions. But with the unions tied to the bourgeois state by means of the Popular Front government, a resurgence of independent labor action would have meant for the union leaders a breach with "their" government. The Socialist and Communist parties once again played their historic role of weakening the self-assertive instincts of the masses. A mere "united front" is useless without real unity in action at the bottom—in the shops, factories and fields. Many French workers now see the Popular Front for what it was, and shorn of their illusions, are beginning to assign to their unions a more fitting place in the class struggle; there is a great deal of talk now of a

24-hour general strike as a warning to the government to stop its provocations.

The attack against labor in France has naturally received a tremendous impetus since Munich. The financial oligarchy represented by the Daladier government is now prepared to embark on an out and out Fascist program of provocation just as took place in Germany under Bruening when the road to Hitler was paved. Today the employers are refusing to sign collective agreements and the discharge of militant unionists, as in the Reich, is approaching the dimensions of a major drive. And with the connivance of Chamberlain, Daladier is giving this drive a State character.

Daladier in League with Big Capital

His speech against the 40-hour week came as a distinct surprise to all. No forewarnings had been given and it was interpreted as a means of breaking down the gains of July, 1936. The press received the declaration with shouts of joy. But the indignation at this proposal was tremendous on the part of the workers. Few industries, they pointed out, were working more than 35 hours and, moreover, there were 350,000 unemployed in France. Production may be low, but the 40-hour week was not the cause of it. The technical backwardness of industry directly caused by the tremendous flight of capital as well as the limitation of production for the purpose of raising prices, lay at the bottom of that condition.

Now that Daladier has been granted decree powers, he will undoubtedly employ more frequently the military measures that enabled him to break the Marseilles strike of dockers and the metal workers strike in Paris. Already the government has decreed unlimited working hours in all industries connected with national defense, which naturally includes all key industries. As far as other industries are concerned, they were allowed 175 hours overtime for the year, with a maximum of 10% bonus for overtime.

It is the aim of Daladier to break the power of the trade unions as he has already broken the popular front. Daladier has by clever manoeuvering "purified" his cabinet by eliminating "undesirable" elements by individual resignation. A complete rightist transformation has been made without a fall of the cabinet to interrupt the nefarious work which French capitalism is pushing with vigor to its logical conclusion.

French Libertarians Vigorously Oppose Fascism

Fortunately these severe measures on the part of the Government are finding repercussions among the workers. Undismayed by the strike-breaking tactics of Daladier, strikes are spreading all over France. The leaders of the C.G.T. have been forced by the rank-and-file to pledge their support to all workers striking in defense of their liberties.

The French Anarchists are making supreme effort to spread their boycott movement as far as possible. They know that the French government and Chamberlain will not stop Hitler or Mussolini in their attack on revolutionary Spain and other workers still struggling against the Fascist menace. A vigorous campaign is going on against the transportation and handling of any cargo, with particular attention to such raw materials like coal, manganese and iron, destined to Fascist countries. Our libertarian press mentions, as a grim warning to those French workers who may have faith in the anti-Fascist sentiments of their government, that the Munich pact gave to Hitler and the French munitions firm of Schneider joint control of the giant Skoda arms works in Czeckoslovakia. The agitation for the boycott, which the Socialist-controlled International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam International) refused to back several months ago, is being bitterly fought by the government.

Both of our papers, "La Libertaire" and "Le Combat Syndicaliste" were suppressed, and their editors arrested, bur 50,000 posters were nevertheless put up in the campaign against Fascism.

THE WORLD WE FIGHT IN

By A. MAC RAE

O you remember the cute anti-war speeches by the President of our United States? Do you recall our Neutrality Act? Do you recollect one of Mr. Roosevelt's early presidential speeches in which he said, "Peoples never want war; it's governments that make wars."? And of course, you haven't forgotten that fascinating idea about "quarantining the aggressor."? Or, have you?

Well, it actually matters very little. Even if you do remember all these things, or rather words—it won't help you much. It will help you just as it helped the American Lawyers Guild who recently presented to our State Department a brief in which they complain that the aforesaid Department is breaking some of our pacts, acts and laws.

The brief reminds the State Department that in spite of the Neutrality Act, arms and ammunitions flow freely into the peace-loving country of Hitlerland. The Guild points out that if these treaties and pacts have been found unworkable they should be revoked through the proper and legal channels. Our lawyers are apparently dismayed by the law-breaking aspects of this affair. But Secretary of State Cordell Hull considers the whole brief quite unimportant while President Roosevelt hasn't as much as said a word about it.

The Neutrality Act is still in our holy statute books, yet tens of millions of dollars in Japanese gold is finding its way into this country in exchange for good American war materials, for shells and bombs that are being rained upon defenseless Chinese cities and villages. But this is within the Neutrality Act which is only aimed against warring nations. And Japan, as we all know very well, never

declared war upon China. Mothers in China who are crying out loudly against their children being torn to shreds by bombs, made with the aid of the U.S.A., display a complete ignorance of international law.

Neither was there any declaration of war in Spain. Against the Loyalists, however, the Neutrality Act is being steadfastly invoked and upheld. In the case of Spain the State Department refuses to be a law breaker, although there is no law against selling arms to a friendly government. Here is where the "quarantine" idea comes in. Can't you see that the Spanish workers and peasants who refuse to submit to the Hitler-Mussolini-Franco terror are being aggressive? And haven't we decided that aggressors must be quarantined? So there is really nothing wrong with the embargo against Loyalist Spain.

Besides we think it's wrong to say that no arms or ammunitions from America get into Spain. It is true they reach Spain via Germany and are dropped on Barcelona by the Heinkels and Capronis, by the Fiats and Messerschmidts, but they get there after all.

So we have nothing to complain about. Furthermore, the Neutrality Act has been passed against warring nations. What is going on in China and Spain cannot be called war. Therefore our laws are not being broken; we still stand for an arms embargo against warring nations but not murdering nations.

A Few Words About a Deed

Money Point, Virginia, has recently been the scene of a refreshing incident. The crew of the Norwegian freighter Gudover struck their ship when they learned that she was being loaded with nitrates for Franco. In a resolution passed at the meeting aboard ship the seamen declared their refusal to ship war materials to any Fascist country.

We applaud this splendid manifestation of direct action and solidarity. We hope that such an example of class-consciousness will find its emulators in all the ports of this country. Let the seamen enforce the embargo against Fascism all over the world. An embargo of this kind will be more effective than all the pacifistic literature and talk that has poured out from Washington.

De-Mock-Racy

We libertarian communists are democrats in the truest and simplest sense of the word. Libertarian communism means demo-cracy, the rule of the demos, the people, not over one another but over the means of production and a system of distribution of all the wealth and services that are created by the people, for the people. That's democracy. All other social systems that used that term in order to hide their real identity are nothing but mockeries.

If there is any semblance of democracy existing in this country it certainly should be found in our trade unions. But when we look into the unions what do we see? We won't take up your time by citing case after case of anti-democratic, dictatorial and even tyrannical treatment that the rank and file is getting from the union bureaucrats. We should, however, like to illustrate the point by drawing

your attention to an event of national importance: the war raging between the C.I.O. and A.F.L.

The view of C.I.O. strikers picketing a shop that claims to be working under contract with the A. F. of L., that view of a fratricidal struggle always saddens and maddens us, because we know that it is we, the rank and file who are paying for this division in our ranks. We see too, that the more we fight amongst ourselves the more insolent do our bosses become. In the states of Washington, Oregon and California movements have been launched which aim at outlawing the legal right to strike or picket completely

We have but to look at the recent events in Houston. Texas, where the A. F. of L. convention took place. Forced by the pressure of the workers, a resolution was passed favoring unity, with one minor stipulation-John L. Lewis must resign from the C.I.O. To this proposition Lewis answered that for the sake of unity he is ready to resign if William Green would also resign from the A. F. of L. This challenge was not taken up by William Green. Here is a case where millions of organized workers desirous of unity cannot obtain it because the two individuals at the head of the respective organizations have personal ambitions and are ready to outsmart one another with every petty machination at their disposal in the bid for supreme leadership. If there is some measure of democracy left in our trade unions, how is such a situation altogether possible? And if the millions of organized workers want unity-why don't they straighten out their democratic backs and throw both these little Caesars off their democratic necks!

If the workers wait for Ma Perkins to settle their "differences," they will be well on the road to government controlled unions, with both Tweedledee John L. Lewis and Tweedledum William Green playing corporal to the lady labor Coordinator-General of the New Deal-Capitalist docile labor army.



Dispel the Clouds that Obscure the Issue.

THE MENACE OF DEPORTATION

Ferrero, anti-fascist, was to be sent to his death to Italy, the Labor Department granted him a 60-day stay. But this reprieve, in the form of a voluntary departure to whatever country which wanted to grant an anti-fascist the right of asylum was given only after his attorney was forced to sign a statement that he would ask for no further stays. Our allegedly liberal administration distinguished itself with a few hypocritical gestures comparable to those expected from Mussolini's lying agents. In order to show that Ferrero would be in no danger when he arrived in the fascist land, the Italian government, in reply to a query from Washington, stated that Ferrero was wanted for no crime in Italy. But nevertheless, the Italian Government begged to be notified just when they might expect their victim to be deported.

It is no secret that Fascist law decrees strict punishment for Italians who outside of Italy carry on activities detrimental to national interests. Our Labor Department knows this of course, but is unmoved in its reactionary course to deport all aliens, even, as in this case, after 33 years of residence, for outspoken anti-fascist views. We urge immediate protests to Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins as well as financial aid to the Ferrero Defense Committee, 100 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. The fascist ends of the reactionaries must be defeated! Sallitto, who was ordered deported together with Ferrero and on the same charge, was freed by the tremendous protest of the liberal and labor movement. There is no reason why Ferrero cannot likewise be freed.

THOUGH we never did think it beneath them, the Stalinists have now openly joined hands with Fascists in seeking deportation for radicals who are not to their liking. Joseph Zack, one-time Communist Party leader, now being held for deportation to Czechoslovakia though of American birth, has had the opportunity of witnessing a number of Communists testifying to his "subverisve" activities, and lying as to his birthplace. The Soviet Government has made itself a party to the persecution by holding as hostages Zack's wife and American-born child, in whom the State Department evinces no interest. The Communist Party frame-up machine must be fully exposed. The depths to which their degeneration drives them is making that party as great a danger to conscientious radicals as the Fascists and State Department are today. Readers of the Vanguard might be interested to learn that one of the charges of the State Department against Joseph Zack is that he contributed articles to the Vanguard. Protests against his threatened deportation should be sent immediately to Washington without a let-up. Send financial aid to the Committee for the Defense of Joseph Zack, 137 East 13th Street, N.Y.C.

RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

By SENEX

TO many, the recent statement made by Walter Duranty as to the possibility of a rapprochement between Soviet Russia and Germany came as a profound shock. The idea of such a possibility militates strongly against the rooted conviction of an irrepressible conflict between two civilizations, a conviction fortified by the apparent readiness of Soviet Russia to fight Germany on the Czechoslovakian issue and by the clearly revealed Hitler plans to isolate Russia for the purpose of a concerted attack upon it in the near future.

Had this statement emanated from some other source, it could easily be attributed to some pro-fascist agency, or to the penchant for facile speculations shown by many a sensation-mongering correspondent. But the status of Walter Duranty as a semi-official spokesman for the Soviet government is too well known to leave any doubt as to the motives behind his sensational statement, the basis for his speculations or the well-informed character of this particular news item. It certainly cannot be dismissed any longer on general grounds as it was done until recently whenever vague rumors to that effect began stirring abroad. It has to be weighed and analyzed in the light of the general lines of the foreign policies of both countries, and of the probable effect which this rapprochement is liable to have in shaping the character of the social struggles throughout the world.

In the previous issue of Vanguard we already dwelt upon the question whether the struggle between Soviet Russia does have for its basis an irrepressible conflict of ideologies. We pointed out in this connection that Hitler's drive upon Soviet Russia clearly bears the earmarks of the traditional policy of German imperialism committed to an eastward expansion. The struggle against communism is but an ideological camouflage calculated to wear down the resistance of the European bourgeoisie to this expansion.

A purely imperialist drive tends, however, to follow the line of least resistance. It will seek out the weaker spots first, but will not start its program with an attack upon the strongest side. At the time Hitler came to power, Soviet Russia was, or so it seemed to the German imperialists, the weakest spot. It was convulsed by an agrarian revolution and its borders lay defenseless to an attack of a strong militarist power like Japan or present-day Germany. It was then that Hitler formulated his plan of an anti-communist crusade which would place Soviet Russia in the vulnerable position of a completely isolated country. That the diplomatic drive to encircle Soviet Russia still continues is shown by the latest developments. But it is doubtful whether the old plan formulated at the time when Soviet Russia was at its weakest would hold its sway much longer in view of the prodigious growth of Russia's military strength.

The growing ring of fortifications stretched along the western frontiers, the mechanization of the army, the improvement of railway transport, the rapid accumulation of huge reserves of military supplies, the superb qualities of the Soviet air fleet brilliantly displayed in Spain and China, (Lindy's Nazi-inspired slurs are valid only for the Cliveden set) and finally, the feverish building up of the Soviet naval strength, which very soon will be in the position to seal every avenue of approach through the Russian seas-all those patent facts of prodigious military growth cannot but have a somewhat restraining effect upon the Nazi rulers of Germany. They may yet realize that not even an alliance with Japan will give them the overwhelming superiority in man-power necessary to offset the gigantic plan of preparedness now carried out by Soviet Russia. And, as we already pointed out in the last issue of Vanguard, this realization may lead to a conciliatory policy toward the Soviet Union, sought by way of re-plotting the Nazi drive along a different road—presumably the road of expansion toward the Balkans and the Near East.

But is there any ground to believe, on the basis of actual information, that the military circles of Germany, if not the leading elements of the Nazi Party, are prone to revise the original plan of attacking Soviet Russia?

Some light on this question is shed by one of the best-informed journalists who writes about the German-Soviet relationships: (Peter Drucker, in *Asia* of August, 1938.)

"A close analysis of the German policy during recent years leaves indeed the impression that there must be a very powerful group in the Nazi government that opposes any break with Russia. Trade relations since 1933 have, if anything, become even closer than they were in the last years of the German republic when German industry financed a large part of the capital imports for the first Five Year Plan. And there is little doubt that it is largely war material that is exported from Germany to Russia.

"The few German officers who were still in Russia as a remnant of the large military mission sent to Moscow after Rathenau's German-Russia treaty, of the early years, were recalled as soon as Hitler came to power; but it is definitely proved that German-Russian staff talks continued for several years afterwards. And informed opinion in France, Czechoslovakia asserts that they still go on in spite of the purge of the High Russian Command allegedly on account of treacherous dealings with Germany. It is probable that Hitler himself does not approve of those dangerous thoughts, but he seems at least to be doing nothing to suppress them.

"It is admitted that there exists a group within the German High Command that shapes its policies so as to leave the decision of an alliance with, or war against, Russia in the balance until the German sphere of influence reaches the Russian border.

"It is worth mentioning that in a discussion held in the London Royal Institute for International Affairs, two of the most experienced students of post-war Germany, Mr. Wickham Steed and Prof. Setton-Watson, not only drew attention to the danger of a German-Russian alliance, but also expressed their belief that the entire Hitler policy is an attempt to manoeuvre Germany into the most advantageous position for the decision for or against Russia."

The same view is expressed by another well-known writer (Henry Wolf, The German Octopus) who made a special study of the Nazi foreign policies especially in their bearing upon the drive for the German hegemony in the south-east of Europe. While linking up this drive with the original plan of Hitler for the isolation of and attack upon Soviet Russia, he also holds out the possibility of a serious change taking place in those plans as a result of a Soviet-Nazi deal which would give the Nazis a free hand to deal with Poland, or what seems even more plausible, to pursue the line of expansion toward Bagdad and India. The author believes that all the sword-rattling in the direction of Soviet Russia notwithstanding, this course has greater chances of being chosen by the Nazi government in view of the great military strength of Soviet Russia.

This, however, raises the question as to the attitude of the Stalin government toward an understanding with Hitler. And since Walter Duranty himself admits the possibility of such an understanding it may not be amiss to quote in this respect the opinion of one of the prominent communist officials who recently escaped to France. His name is B. Krovitzky (Walter) and he is well known in Russia as the author of scholarly treatises on the economics of the Third Reich. In a series of articles recently appearing in the Socialist Courier (Russian bi-weekly, published in Paris) he gave a striking picture of the Communist elite during the successive waves of terroristic purges, which to his opinion are somewhat linked up with Stalin's persistent efforts to make a deal with Hitler.

The idea of such an understanding, according to this writer, took shape before Hitler came to power, which, incidentally, sheds quite an ominous light upon the lackadaisical attitude of the Communist Party of Germany toward the catastrophe imminent in 1932. And this basic orientation upon good-neighbor relations—adds the author of those sensational articles—remained the same after Hitler's conquest of power. The commercial treaty concluded with Germany in 1933 was deemed by Stalin "a triumph of major order." Even on the eve of the conclusion of the Soviet-French pact, Stalin kept on affirming at the Politbureau sessions: "and still we must come to an understanding with the Germans."

"The rapprochement with France was viewed by Stalin as a means of strengthening his position in the expected negotiations with Hitler, who was given to understand—officially and unofficially—that Stalin is very much in earnest about a Soviet-Nazi deal. And though rebuffed in his advances, Stalin still clung to his original aim of coming to terms with Hitler.

"In 1936 this question was on the agenda of the Politbureau. The task of working out such an understanding was turned over to Stalin's personal agents who in this respect worked independently of the Berlin ambassador. In the spring of 1937, Stalin's agents entrusted with this mission came back to Moscow. Their arrival produced a state of elation in the Politbureau. The general conviction was that we were on the eve of big events—a complete about face in the prevailing policies."

We have already discussed (in the last issue of Vanguard) the possible consequences of such an about face. An understanding with Hitler can be arrived at only at the price of giving Hitler a free hand in Europe, it also means a complete loss of an international revolutionary perspective. According to the author of those articles, this was a price that the old cadres of the Communist Party refused to pay, which was one of the reasons for the ferocious purge. "With the blood of the revolutionists," he writes, "who because of their past struggles were dead-set against trafficking with Hitler, Stalin hopes to wash away the last obstacles which still stand in the way of his plan to reach an understanding with Hitler's Germany."

One does not have to accept this story in full, or even to agree with the author in his evaluation of the motives for the purge, in order to see how well the principal idea brought out in this narrative clicks with the latest developments in the inner and foreign policies of Soviet Russia.

And in the first place there is the cultivation of a spirit of vulgar and tawdry nationalism which militates against the living spirit of the October revolution. Self-defense of the revolutionary conquests against the foreign aggressors must, of course, be based upon a deep-felt allegiance to the order of things established by the revolution. The inculcation of such an allegiance may even come near to what is generally called patriotic propaganda. But that is altogether different from the idealization of the past, the mawkish romantics of nationalism, with its natural tendency toward fascism. What has the glorification of Peter the First, of Russian princes, like John Kalita and Alexander Nevsky, in common with the spirit of a revolution which started out with internationalism as its guiding ideal, ready to hazard the very existence of Russia as a great state for this idea, proclaiming with Lenin that even a shrunken Russia, reduced to the size of a former Moscow principality, but proceeding along socialist lines, would be a great triumph insofar as it would become the starting point for the realization of the international values of socialism?

The scope of this article forbids us to dwell at any length upon this dangerous nationalist trend away from the revolutionary internationalism of October, upon the monstrous falsification of the latter as a national upheaval taking place in accordance with the "manifest destiny" of the Russian people. And since this "manifest destiny" was shaped by princes, Tsars and nobles, the new national-Bolshevik party line tends to correct the "injustices" which "wreckers" like M. Pokrovsky, the

eminent communist historian and other official ideologists of the Communist Party, had done to them during the long period of Trotzkyite-Bucharinite domination," that is, from October, 1917 to the last purge.

"The Russian princes of the feudal period have fulfilled a great national-patriotic mission," writes the *Izvestia* of May 26. "The underlying principle of the Russian state have an old venerable past," writes the *Pravda*. The traditions of the heroic past for our country go back to the most ancient past." History is being "revised" from this nationalist angle, textbooks are being rewritten in order to show the thread of continuity running from Peter the First to Joseph the Great.

True, according to Maxwell Stewart, who recently returned from Soviet Russia, this trend has been definitely checked and internationalism is again on the up-grade (Nation, Oct. 8). But trends in a totalitarian country like Soviet Russia do not arise spontaneously: they are set up at the will and bidding of the apparatus, and since the control of the apparatus has been in the hands of one and the same person, we cannot but question Whether there was any connection between this obstinate effort to strike a bargain with Hitler, as reported by B. Krivitzky, and this artificial nationalist trend set up by the government in full contradiction to the spirit and living traditions of October.

And while such a connection is rather of the problematic kind, there can be no doubt that given a few more years of nationalist drive along the lines already indicated—and the country will be ready for another purge which will have extirpated the last vestiges of internationalism. The main line of ideological differences between "national socialism," which will develop as a result of this trend, and the "managed capitalism" based upon "racial community" will tend to become more and more tenuous, and the psychologic ground for a deal between the two dictatorial systems will have been thoroughly prepared.

SOLIDARIDAD INTERNACIONAL ANTI-FASCISTA

THE S.I.A. is an international organization which originated in Loyalist Spain in order to fill the need for a trustworthy and efficient relief organization for Spanish war sufferers. It is non-political in nature and federalist in structure. Getting its start in the summer of 1937, it swiftly rolled up a membership of 300,000 in Spain. Lucia Sanchez Andrnil, noted poetess is the general secretary.

Throughout the world, sympathizers have been sending funds and goods to Spain through variously affiliated organizations with little or no knowledge of the use put to them. A great deal of money was collected for the relief of the disabled, the needy and the children of Spain but was spent in foreign countries for partisan propaganda. Much of the goods shipped to Spain was distributed on partisan lines. Protest in Spain to these ignominies resulted in the S.I.A. Since its inception the S.I.A. has spread to every continent. 200,000 dues paying individual members, besides 300 collective cells have been organized outside of Spain.

All money collected specifically for Spanish relief is spent for that purpose only. Administrative costs come from the dues of the membership, and in many cases such work is entirely voluntary. Thus far over \$40,000 have been sent to Spain and its distribution has been immensely satisfactory.

In this country we have fifty S.I.A. locals, mostly among the Spanish-speaking populace. The problem in the U. S. now is for a campaign to organize S.I.A. locals among English speaking sympathizers, and with the auspicious work done during the first year of existence, continued growth and expansion can readily be expected.

A. W.

By SENEX

A FEW months prior to its final suppression, the official organ of the P.O.U.M. (the Communist Opposition of Spain), La Battalla, began publishing a series of articles dealing with the irresponsible campaign waged against it by the agents of the Fourth International. And by way of characterizing the pretentious claims of those emissaries, the paper cited a very typical instance telling how "the infallible line" was laid down for it in the first period of the revolution.

The "legate" carrying the instructions embodying this "line" arrived immediately after the great historic events of July 19. He was received in a spirit befitting a fraternal organization. Men with revolutionary experience were needed, and it was expected that, given a certain period of time necessary to acquaint oneself with the new environment and the specific conditions created by the revolutionary events—and the fraternal delegate would be able to contribute his alleged knowledge and experience to the common effort of solving the urgent problems of the day.

Such a preliminary period of study and observation was deemed the more necessary in the case of this particular delegate who proved ignorant of the Spanish language, the history of the Spanish labor movement and especially of Catalonia. To the emissary, however, those were mere trifles, counting but little against the superior virtues of an error-proof tactical line which he handed down rather peremptorily to the astounded leaders of the P.O.U.M. As the paper pointed out, the didactic attitude was both dismaying and highly amusing. It was dismaying, for the rejection of his ultimatum meant not only a rift with a fraternal organization but the unloosening of a vituperative campaign by the Trotzkyite leaders on an international scale. And at the same time it was amusing to listen to this emissary holding forth in his pontifical manner on the tactics of the Spainsh revolution, while lacking the most elementary information not only in regard to the present situation, but in regard to the immediate background of the events, the alignment of forces, the relative strength of the various movements, the nature of the terrible difficulties besetting the revolutionary sector of the proletariat from the first days of the revolt.

But . . . he had his theses—crude generalizations from the development of Russian events in the period of February-October, 1917—and along with those theses, which the emissary produced immediately after he had landed in Spain, went a surprising faith in their magic potency and ability to exorcise the crushing difficulties besetting the Spanish workers from the very first days of the revolution.

Trotzkyite Claims

What was the nature of those theses? This question is important in view of the preposterous claims now put forth by the Trotzkyites—and seemingly finding ready acceptance in the wider circles of the left Marxists—to the effect that the solution offered by those theses held out the possibility of a full triumph for the revolutionary forces of Spain, and that the tragic reverses suffered by the Spanish proletariat were due to the "cold shouldering" of the delegates of the Fourth International, who had formulated a clear plan of proletarian victory based upon past revolutionary experiences.

Let us analyze one of the latest attempts made to present those claims in the systematized form of a coherent historic account of the epic struggles of the Spanish workers during the last two years. We have such an attempt in Felix Morrow's book "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain" written mainly with the purpose of proving the fatal nature of the errors committed by the revolutionary forces of Spain as a result of their rejection of the course urged upon them by the "only and true Leninist vanguard."

The Russian Pattern

Roughly, the contention of the author is that the situation in Spain after July 19, was in its main aspects similar to the one which obtained in Russia between February and October, 1917. In both cases it was "a regime of dual power," one in which the existing governments "lack the indispensable instrument of sovereignty: armed force," while the armed proletariat which has the actual power is not conscious enough of the necessity to dispense with this state of dual power and to erect a government of its own instead of the one dominated by the bourgeoisie.

It is clear that a state of dual power can be only of short duration, the logic of the situation impelling a solution along the lines of consolidation of a single power, whether it be that of the existing government or the newly emerged forces of the revolutionary proletariat. In Russia, according to the author, the latter solution prevailed, while in Spain the pendulum swung back to the old bourgeois rule, the reason thereof being the atomized state of workers' power. "The workers' state remained embryonic, atomized, scattered in the various militias, factory committees and anti-fascist defense committees jointly constituted by the various organizations. It never became centralized in Nationwide Councils as it had been in Russia in 1917, in Germany in 1918-19." And this in turn "has a simple explanation: there was no revolutionary party in Spain, ready to drive through the organization of soviets boldly and single-mindedly."

This lack could be remedied if the voice of the "glorious heirs" of the Russian tradition were heeded. "The Fourth International," the author declares, with the modesty becoming his sect, "offered the rarest and most precious aid: a consistent Marxist analysis of Spanish events and a revolutionary program to defeat fascism." Alas, the bearers of that wonderful aid were told to learn Spanish first and then find out a little about the Spanish labor movement, its revolutionary background. And they were also told that while Trotzky's "History of Russian Revolution" is quite a good book insofar as the dynamics of the pre-October events is concerned, it certainly cannot serve as an infallible guide to a situation which is more complex, beset with greater difficulties and essentially different from the one of February-October, 1917."

Let us see whether the organization of Soviets in Spain following July 19 would have constituted a determining factor in swinging the revolution from its course of self-limitation to the victory of a socialist form of society.

Fetishization of Soviets

In one of his earlier pamphlets on Spain, Trotzky warned the Communists against "raising the Soviet into a super-historic divinity." By 1936 this warning was conveniently shelved by its author; and, in fact, the fetishization of this form of labor organization indulged in by his disciples, as revealed by Felix Morrow in his book on Spain, went so far as to blind them to the elementary realities of the Spanish situation.

In Russia the Soviets were practically the only form of mass organization rooted in the revolutionary experience of the past. The trade unions developed as a mass organization only after February, 1917, and, inasmuch as they were controlled by the political parties, they were kept from expanding beyond the narrow field of trade-union struggles and organizational matters which drew heavily upon the energies of the young, immature organizations. The political parties embraced only a thin layer of workers and intellectuals: they certainly did not possess the cadres of trained and indoctrinated members which, for good or bad, exercise such a powerful influence over the mass organizations of the European proletariat. And even in Russia the political parties nearly succeeded at one time in emasculating the Soviets to such an extent as to drive Lenin into despair over the future of this type of organization. As is known, Lenin, immediately after the July events, began to raise serious doubts in the Bolshevik press about the fitness of the Soviets as organs of free crystallization of revolutionary energy.

In Western Europe the Soviets, although meeting greater difficulties and being less of an imperative necessity, also had an important function to fulfill in the revolutionary period of 1919-1921. They had a wider mass basis than the trade unions, which were confined only to the better-paid workers and which could not give expression to the revolutionary energies of the masses because of the top-heavy bureaucratic control and the reformist mentality of its leadership.

Soviets Had Little to Offer To Spanish Labor Movement

In Spain, however, both unions-the C.N.T. and U.G.T .- embraced almost the entire working class of the country. Half of the working class is enrolled in an organization which, unlike the reformed trade-union of Wsetern Europe, is oriented upon revolutionary action and immediate building up of the workers' commonwealth. Insofar as this organization (C.N.T.) is concerned, there is no need of a more democratic mass organization enabling the revolutionary will of the proletarian masses to find its own channel, free from bureaucratic trammels Even prior to their complete emasculation by the Bolshevik Party, the Russian Soviets were less and not more democratic than the C.N.T. syndicates, with their frequent Plenums, their federalist structure, the limitations placed upon power-absorbing tendencies of the Central Committees and the libertarian spirit, which is more fundamental to the functioning of democracy than any formal organizational principles.

Of course, Felix Morrow, quite in keeping with the irresponsible demagogy of the Fourth International, makes frequent allusions to the "C.N.T. bureaucracy" and the necessity of building up Soviets in order to "wrest control from this bureaucracy." But the value of this assertion can be properly assessed when we come to consider that it comes from a disciple of a man who more than any one else was instrumental in dissolving the soldiers' and workers' committees of Russia, in reducing the Soviets to organs of party dictatorship-a man who was upholding such "democratic" measures as compulsory labor service, militarization of labor unions and the "substitution of the principle of selection for election." Whatever opinion one may hold of the course pursued by the C.N.T., there can be no question of its mass support within its organizations. There were no splits, rifts, popular upsurges or any significant current of opposition during those most difficult years of adaptations, retreats and concessions*

Pacts a Superior Form of Mass Unity

The C.N.T., of course, embraced only one-half of organized workers and peasants. It had to face the problem of finding a way of working together with the remaining half of organized workers so as to draw it into an ever greater participation in the struggle to preserve and expand the revolutionary conquests. The method chosen was that of pacts and establishing close organizational contacts with the other great economic organiza-

*The Trotzkyites make much ado about the "friends of Durruti." But the latter, contrary to its name, did not consist of people who were near to Durruti. Nor was it an anarchist or a C.N.T. organization. It was a loose formation, headed by an ex-Catalonian nationalist whose conversion to the libertarian ideas was of but recent origin. That the C.N.T. had a right to demand that this alien organization, strongly permeated with Marxist elements, stop camouflaging its activities by using the C.N.T. or F.A.I. colors can be censured only by people who reject the very elementary principles of organizational life. Had this organization-or rather conglomeration have any roots within the C.N.T. unions, it would have made its voice felt at its plenar conferences and conventions. But "the friends of Durruti," whom the Trotzkyites hailed-rather suspiciously soas "a significant anarchist movement," vanished as suddenly as it came to life.

tion of Spanish workers—the socialist-controlled U.G.T. In this connection, it is argued by the Trotzkyites, a Soviet form of organization would allow the creation of genuine mass unity, a "united front from below" and not agreements with the bureaucratic leadership. But certainly the German experience should warrant us against such exaggerated expectations. The Soviets and for that matter the factory committees as well, were just as much dominated by the reformist leadership as the tradeunions. Would the power exercised by the Socialist Party of Spain over a considerable section of the Spanish working class vanish because of the Soviet form of organization?

Formal Soviet Democracy No Guarantee Against Party Usurpation

Felix Morrow, in his naive idealization of the Soviet type of organization, is prone to think that the recall and new (frequent) elections characterizing the Soviets "reduce the time-lag of political development to a minimum," thus leading to the elimination of those movements and parties which fall behind this time lag.

But, as is known, this did not happen in Germany. Nor did the arch-democratic form of the Soviet organization prevent their utter deterioration as independent mass organizations as soon as the Bolshevik Party attained power in 1917. One can almost foresee what would have happened had the "line" urged by the Fourth International been adopted by the revolutionary forces of Spain. The socialists would have retained a considerable control in the Soviets, using their influence in the same way in which they employed it in the U.G.T. The Communists, whose main power lay in the terrific pressure exerted by Soviet Russia as the sole country upon which Spain depended for arms, would have obtained the same controlling positions in the ruling apparatus of the Soviets as in the governmental set-up of the country, and how much of the recall and other democratic features would remain in those Soviets with the Stalinists in the control of the commanding positions? After all, even the U.G.T. of Catalonia possessed a comparatively democratic form of organization. It was democratic enough to enable the P.O.U.M. to function quite successfully for some time within this organization. happened to this union democracy as soon as the Stalinists, catapulted into a position of power by the long arm of the Soviet government, obtained control of this organization is too well known to leave any doubts as to the similar results in Soviet form of organization.

One can easily see that the Socialist-Stalinist control of the Spanish soviets-had this type of organization come to prevailwhich, given the political set-up of the early period of the revolution and the humiliating dependence upon the Soviet government in military matters, was inevitable in the first period, would have a paralyzing effect upon the struggle of the revolutionary forces. The totalitarian claims put up by the left Marxists, and especially by the Trotzkyites, on behalf of the Soviet as "organs of proletarian power," as "a nascent proletarian government" would have been appropriated by the Stalinists and Socialists in control of the Soviets. It is the struggle against such totalitarian claims made possible by evolving a different and more democratic form of unity through pacts between labor organizations, each having and retaining a clearly pronounced individual character of its own-that saved Spain from the absorption of all its social life by a monopolistic organization ostensibly representing the general will of the proletariat but serving in fact as the camouflaged organ of a Party dictatorship.

Compromise Forced by Circumstances

Let us, however, grant for argument's sake, the greater effectiveness of the Soviet form of organization as the medium through which the dual regime of the first period of the revolution would be transcended. Would it be possible to make use

of this medium along the same revolutionary lines as in Russia of the year of 1917? In other words, would it be possible to adopt from the very beginning the same intransigeant irreconcilable attitude toward the existing coalition government which Lenin advocated upon his arrival from abroad and which was gradually adopted by the leading Soviets of the country?

Those, who like Felix Morrow, believe that given a Soviet form of organization—and an active Communist minority to advocate the tactics of 1917—and the course of Spanish events would lead to a successful Spanish October, overlook a very essential difference between the Russian situation of 1917 and that of Spain after July, 1936. To ignore this difference is in fact to indulge in abstract theorizing about revolutionary strategy and not to make a serious attempt to understand the Spanish events.

Wherein Spanish Situation Differed from the One of 1917

In Russia the policy of combatting the Provisional Government led to a breakdown at the fronts and the deepening of economic and social chaos. But the war was an imperialist war, one in the continuation of which the revolutionary forces were not interested. When the hopes of immediately unloosing a revolutionary wave in Western Europe, and especially in Germany, failed to materialize, the new Soviet government was forced to fall back upon the horrible expedient of a shameful and humiliating peace in order to gain some sort of respite.

This is no place to enter into the discussion of the relative merits of this step undertaken at the most critical juncture of the October revolution. It is clear, however, that this course could not be followed by the Spanish revolutionary forces. The war which was thrust upon them was not an imperialist war. They were most vitally interested in the struggle against the fascists and no policy could be adopted by them which would weaken the struggle to any extent. But obviously one cannot have both: an efficient organization of military struggle against the fascists and a policy designed to weaken this struggle, a policy of fighting the existing government by the Soviets—or any other equivalent organization—carrying in its train demoralization and chaos, for the time being at least.

There were three possible ways to be followed by the revolutionary forces of Spain. One way, that of immediate elimination of the existing government, of the liberal and reformist elements of the so-called popular front. Even Felix Morrow recognizes, by implication at least, that in the days of July 19 the relationship of forces were not such as to make possible this course. Catalonia was the only exception, but Catalonia had to keep in step, to some extent at least, with developments in the rest of the country.

Revolutionary Spain could not avoid at that period the phase of what Felix Morrow calls "the dual power." But circumstances demanded immediate cooperation with this power since the second possible course, the one of undermining it for the purpose of its ultimate displacement would necessarily lead to the kind of demoralization which was brought about in Russia of 1917 and which placed the revolutionary forces at the mercy of the German imperialism. Without this cooperation Valencia and Alcoy would have been lost-no one knowing the situation can fail to see that it was only the united efforts of all the anti-fascists that saved those cities, and consequently the entire province of Levante, from the tip of Southern Andalucia; the Basque province would have joined the reactionary Navarres from the first days of the revolt, and even Catalonia, torn by inner strife, would have offered a target for the rebellious forces concentrated at Zaragossa.

(To be continued in the following issue)

Marcus Graham is still threatened by deportation charges. IMMEDIATE AID should be sent to the Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee, 229 Avenue A, New York, N. Y.

I.W.W. CONVENTION

The 23rd General Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World took place on Sept. 12-17th. Space does not permit a lengthy discussion or report of the proceedings, which were marked by serious discussions on vital problems. The principal business of the convention revolved around the question of adjusting the policies of the organization to the changed conditions in the American Labor Movement in an effort to secure the gains which the organization had made during the past year in the field of metal and machinery, maritime and W.P.A.

Several resolutions call attention to the fact that while the I.W.W. has been successful in winning strikes, the organization had made no provisions for sustaining the union between strikes. The Lawrence and Mesaba Range strikes were won, but the gains were lost because the constitution of the I.W.W. did not permit time agreements. In the Colorado Coal Strike of 1927-8, which ended in victory for the I.W.W., the United Mine Workers of America reaped the fruits of this victory by meeting the demands of the membership for a time agreement. The refusal to sign time agreements has left the members at the mercy of the conservative and corrupt labor fakers.

The experience of the Cleveland Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union No. 440, further illustrates the necessity for a change in this policy. After organizing many shops in the face of the ruthless competition of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. and establishing a permanent functioning organization, the very existence of the I.W.W. as a factor in the Labor Movement of the Middle West was threatened. The C.I.O. and A. F. of L. offered time agreements. The members of the newly organized shops demanded time agreements and threatened to leave the I.W.W. if it persisted in refusing to sign them. Both the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. are organizing the mass production industries. The field is no longer open. The I.W.W. must now struggle against the formidable competition offered by these organizations. In this struggle the I.W.W. must meet the enemy on its own ground. If it is to become a factor in the labor movement it must, among other changes, accept the time agreement with the provision that such agreement will not in any way commit the organization to go on working while other shops in the same industry are on strike, or to handle "hot" strike goods. The above represents the gist of the discussions on this

Most objections to the time agreements appear to have their root in the fear that the organization will become opportunistic; that it is a form of class-collaboration. Recent history does not bear out this contention. In the marine industry, for example, the agreements signed between the shipowners and the maritime unions of the Pacific coast which ended the victorious epic-making general strikes of 1936-37, specifically prohibit and render impossible scabbing of one union against another. They commit the employers to recognize and abide by the demands which the unions wrung from them by militant strike action. The militancy of the unions has in no way been impaired by the agreement. On the contrary, the unions have repeatedly shown that they can enforce the agreements by using repeatedly shown that they can enforce the agreemnts by using their economic power. The agreemnt of the American Stove Company, an I.W.W. shop, contains provisions which adequately provide for the protection of the workers insofar as scabbing, and solidarity strikes are concerned.

The convention decided to hold a referendum on this question. We hope that the membership will see the need for this change, which will put the I.W.W. on the map in the vital mass-production field.

We are sorry to note that once again the I.W.W. has turned down affiliation with the I.W.M.A. This is most deplorable in view of the fact that the I.W.M.A. is the only international

organization with ideas similar to those of the I.W.W. The affiliation to a body which counts the revolutionary C.N.T. among its members would increase and strengthen the bonds of solidarity and help immeasurably in the fight against fascism and build that great international unity of industrial unions which alone can regenerate society.

The adverse decision is in some measure due to the fact that many libertarians have for years failed to give that cooperation and solidarity which the I.W.W. had a right to expect. They have failed to make any serious attempt to inform the membership about the history, principles and objectives of the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement. It is not yet too late to correct this mistake.

We take this opportunity to extend to the I.W.W. our revolutionary greetings and earnest wishes for success in organizing the workers of America into revolutionary industrial unions for the struggle against capitalism.-S.W.

Vanguard Organizing Committee

A NUMBER of encouraging signs have come to our attention since we last published a report of this work.

Due to a good start in Youngstown, Ohio, the libertarian youth movement has been expanding in that state. Besides two successful picnics the club has had a number of good lectures and has carried through a series of discussions on the fundamentals of the libertarian philosophy. Other propaganda work is also keeping them busy. The work begun during a trip made by one of our comrades last spring has already been extended to Canton, Ohio. One of the active members in the Youngstown youth group went on an organizing trip to Canton and there, together with several other young comrades, organized a youth group which consists of more than twenty-five active members. They are carrying out their work in a very systematic manner by undertaking a very limited number of tasks in which all the members participate.

The slogan of the new group is "To educate others you must educate yourself first." In accordance with this method a program of study meetings and lectures is being undertaken. Socials and dances are also planned. This type of initiative should prove to be an example in doing organizing work. If you live in the neighborhood of Canton you can get in touch with the group at the Cultural Club, 1919 Sixth St., N.E.

The group in Philadelphia which was being formed at the time we wrote our report in te last number of Vanguard, has been meeting for a couple of months now. Though the group was born in the midst of "summer inactivity" they successfully formed it and kept it together. The most recent report we received is that there is renewed enthusiasm and activity after a short period of quiet. At this time we feel confident that the efforts of the Philadelphia comrades will bear fruit. Arrangements are now being made to have a speaker from New York at an early meeting of the Philadelphia Group.

We must however report with deep regret that the group in Stelton, N. J. which was very promising during its life of one year has officially disbanded and is no longer publishing its monthly bulletin, Looking Forward, which appeared in eight fine numbers. This was due mainly to the fact that several of its most active members left the community. (They have since become active in other groups) There are of course reasons other than the above mentioned, which should not be dismissed. The members of the group probably made mistakes which they were not aware of at the time ard cooperation from nearby groups was not forthcoming. We should analyze the history of the group and incorporate the lessons of this analysis into our organizational method. While there is no immediate prospect of reforming this group, much work can certainly be done in that locality, especially in the nearby towns of New Brunswick and Perth Amboy.

That this happened after the successful membership conference held jointly by the Brooklyn, Stelton and Vanguard groups this past summer, should discourage no one since it had ro bearing on the Stelton Group whatsoever. This joint group conference (not delegated, but membership) went on record as endorsing the Vanguard magazine as the organ of these groups. Some regular financial support for the magazine was also promised. The Brooklyn Group has already resumed its local activities very successfully. This group which has produced some of our most capable young comrades gives promise of a brilliant future.

At the above mentioned membership conference a Joint Group Council was formed which will plan and help to coordinate the work of the groups now existing in N. Y. With the organizational progress and the increasing membership of the groups mentioned in this report it is hoped we will be able to hold a convention of the youth groups (Eastern States) before the end of this year, which, if successfully launched will be the real beginning of a libertarian youth federation in the United

Much work in organizing has been neglected because of the lack of funds. So far the Vanguard Group has borne the largest part of the financial as well as moral burden, which must be the concern of our whole movement. We therefore urge all comrades to do their part in helping our Committee organize, by sending in funds for this work as well as doing some of this organizing themselves. All it requires besides a little money is initiative and planning. Start organizing in your locality right now. When sending money for this purpose, make it payable to Clara Fredericks, c/o Vanguard Organizing Committee, 45 West 17th Street, New York City.

A BIOGRAPHY OF MUSSOLINI

A new edition of Armando Borghi's study of the Duce, "Mussolini Red and Black" has just come off the press. This excellent biography of the Italian dictator should be on the required reading reading list of all who want to have a full understanding of the origins of Fascism and the character of Fascist leadership. Written by a man who is intimately acquainted with Italy, especially during the period of Mussolini's rise. and beautifully especially during theperiod of Mussolini's rise, and beautifully rendered in English by Dorothy Dudley, this new edition of "Mussolin, Red and Black" is most heartily recommended. And at only seventy-five cents a copy it is certainly a bargain. You can order copies through Vanguard, 45 West 17th Street, New York City.

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SUPPORT VANGUARD BY REGULAR CONTRIBUTIONS!

This issue of Vanguard is much larger than any previous one, yet many articles could not appear. We apologize to our contributors whose articles suffered that fate, and to our readers as well. The delayed appearance of Vanguard (which in turn caused the omission of many important articles), was due primarily to the lack of ample funds. The magazine needs financial aid. Not until such help is forthcoming in a regular fashion can the regular issuance of Vanguard be guaranteed. We therefore urge friends and comrades as well as groups to pledge and send a definite sum of money each month to the Vanguard. Make money orders or checks payable to Clara Fredricks, 45 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y.

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